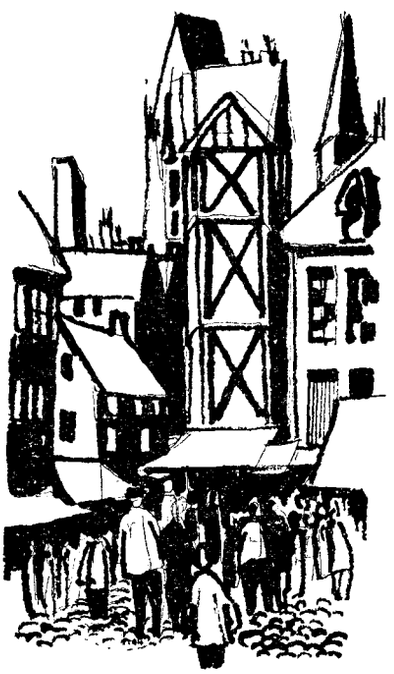
THE USES OF GAELIC

—David H. Greene

THE

Commonweal



Give-Away Program?

THE FACTS OF FOREIGN AID

by Robert C. Good

Politics and Prejudice

A CATHOLIC PRESIDENT?

by John J. Kane

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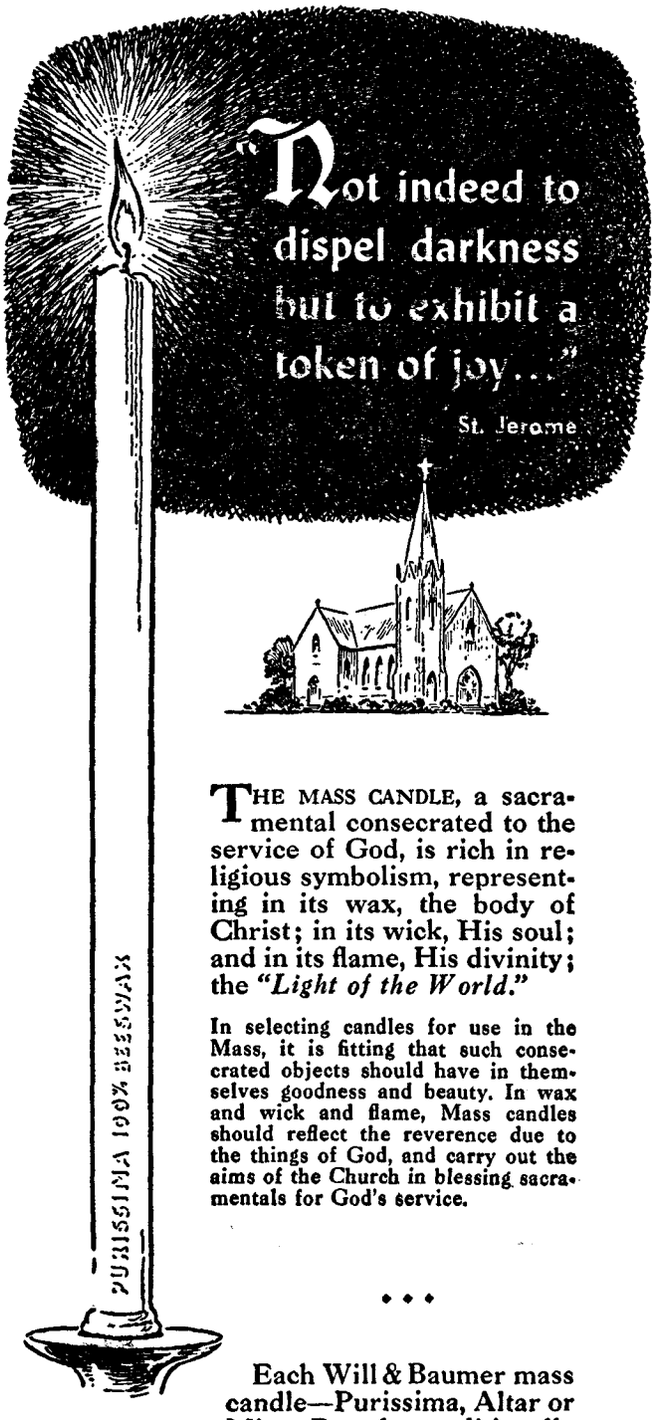

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The Commonweal

week by week

THE DEMOCRATIC RACE

WE DOUBT that Harry Truman is toying with the idea of running for the Presidency, as some have suggested, but it is probably a tribute to Mr. Truman's skill as a practical politician that we are not absolutely sure. For certain, however, the former President dominated Democratic discussions during his recent trip to New York, as he made it quite clear again that if he had his way the Democratic Party would be full of the Old Harry. Mr. Truman continues to insist he is neutral in the struggle for the Democratic nomination, but, as an observing *Times* reporter noted, he was willing to have his picture taken with Governor Harriman of New York but not with Senator Estes Kefauver. Mr. Truman may be neutral, but, as in the familiar story, his conduct makes one wonder whom he is neutral against.

Thus the lines are drawn and the issues reasonably clear. Two grand strategies are being advanced within the Democratic Party, and front-runner Adlai Stevenson is fair game for every other aspiring candidate. Mr. Truman believes in "giving them hell," and he wants the Democratic candidate who is chosen to be in the same mold. Adlai Stevenson criticizes the Republicans with increasing fervor—as, for example, in his remarks about Mr. Dulles and "Russian roulette," which we thought ill-advised—but by and large he is not a real Party-man; he cannot get away from the lingering worry that hell may not be reserved exclusively for Republicans, and this reservation necessarily imposes certain restrictions on his speech. In 1956, as a result, he is still the candidate who tells victory-hungry Democratic conventions that if winning the election is all that counts, maybe he is not the best man for them.

In the struggle for delegates to the nominating convention, his opponents are in a wonderful position: they have little to lose and everything to gain. On civil rights, on relations with the Soviet Union or Communist China, on special regional interests, they can fire broadsides almost at will. But by virtue of his position as well as his nature, Adlai Stevenson has to deal with each issue carefully, responsibly, weighing and balancing the effects, not of speech, but of action. He cannot speak purely for the effect of the moment; he is always forced to behave more like a President than a Presidential candidate.

In all this, Mr. Stevenson is facing problems that were inevitable once he announced his candidacy and Mr. Eisenhower suffered his heart attack. As things stand now, Mr. Stevenson is busy campaigning for the Democratic nomination, but obviously he has to weigh every word and action with a view to the Presidential campaign itself. Other Democrats often come through shrill and partisan; if they have their eyes on any race beyond the Democratic nominating convention, it must be a campaign of the kind Harry Truman waged in 1948. But 1956 is not 1948, and leaving aside all larger considerations, we do not think the tactics of 1948 can win an election in 1956.

AN AMAZING number of people persist in treating Adlai Stevenson as if he were an amateur in politics, prone to all kinds of mistakes a professional would never make. Perhaps this is because Adlai Stevenson, like Dwight D. Eisenhower, has the ability to arouse enthusiasm in normally non-political people, a talent most professional politicians lack. But although we do not know just when a man passes the magic line from amateurism, surely Adlai Stevenson must have passed it a long time ago. No man who won the governorship of Illinois with the vote he did, administered state affairs as well as he did, then went on to amass his popular vote against Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 can be called an amateur. What, then, is he shooting at while his opponents try to take delegation votes away from here, there, and everywhere?

Mr. Stevenson is, we think, looking far beyond his Party's nomination. His eye is on the Presidential race itself, and he is running on that middle

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ground which best suits his own temperament and the obvious mood of the American people. He is shunning extremes and seeking to conciliate rather than sharpen the differences which exist among the American people.

In following this path, Mr. Stevenson is probably following the only course open to him, given the nature of the man. But he is also, we think, taking the route most likely to win him the Presidency if nominated, despite current complaints from fellow-Democrats. President Eisenhower did not win the popularity he now enjoys by chance; that popular approval rests upon his avowed moderation. In him, as in all popular political leaders, the times and the man are well met; he expresses the widespread desire of the American people for national unity and an end to division and bitter partisanship. So great is this popularity that if President Eisenhower runs again, it looks right now—barring war or depression—as if his Democratic opponent will get nothing out of the race but exercise, no matter who he is. But if Mr. Eisenhower declines to make the race, all can hope that a man of moderation will take his place. In his campaigning, Adlai Stevenson is once again reaffirming his claim to that title.

ANTI-TRUST

THE CHARGE has often been voiced, but outright monopoly on a national scale has not often had a stranglehold over American businesses or individual consumers. The Standard Oil Company had to be broken up by court order a couple of times, and for quite a period of years the Aluminum Company of America stood all alone; but such monopolies tended to be notorious exceptions. Of course there have been plenty of combinations enjoying restraint of trade.

The odds would all seem to be on the restraining corporations' side. They have at their disposal great financial resources, the best legal talent and vast experience in fighting delaying and holding actions. Moreover, there are serious loopholes in the anti-trust provisions of the Sherman and Clayton Acts. Prosecution by the Government in favor of individual citizens and small businesses cannot help but reflect the comparatively less organized and less insistent character of many of the demands for anti-trust action. It is much like the unequal contest between Washington lobbyists highly paid by private business interests and those who seek to influence Congressional legislation for the sake of the common good as they envisage it. Even the incentives vary in intensity.

That is why the recent achievements of Assistant Attorney General Stanley Barnes appear to be rather remarkable. They include persuading International Business Machines to give up renting out its patent-protected mechanisms, on an exclusive and most lucrative royalty basis. In addition to agreeing to sell its products outright from now on, IBM will make its patents available to other manufacturers at reasonable royalty rates. This has been brought about by negotiation with the Government rather than by civil or criminal suits. The Government has scored similar gains against monopolies in the cases of American Telephone and Telegraph, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Hilton Hotels Corporation (which was held to dominate the convention business in New York, the nation's capital, St. Louis and Los Angeles).

Doubtless, in certain instances Judge Barnes and his cohorts have not gone far enough, but they exhibit a heartening sense of responsibility and an ability to bring about needed reforms without getting involved in the political fanfare and debilitating delays attendant upon court action.

BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION

WHILE THE question of segregation promises to interfere with the passage of a highly important Federal school aid bill and Senator James Eastland of Mississippi continues to exhort his constituents to attack the Supreme Court decision, segregation continues to give way in various parts of our country.

The parks and pools of Oklahoma City, which were previously segregated, are now open to all. And the officials have handled the issue in a very sensible manner. They issued no formal announcements, and they expect to deal with any particular difficulties as they arise. On the negative side, a protest was staged by a California band which cancelled a proposed trip to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans because its two Negro members would not be permitted to perform with the white players.

These two incidents are not so impressive that we can be complacent about the future of race relations in the U.S. They merely indicate what can be done without violence and terror. They point a lesson not for one part of our country but for all.

Senator Eastland, in protesting the Supreme Court's decision, said that he and his followers should lay their grievances "at the bar of public opinion." We think these incidents provide a fair expression of what that opinion will be.

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SNOW AND ICE

PERHAPS EVEN more startling than the Soviet Union's spreadeagling of the field in the Winter Olympics at Cortina, Italy, was the margin of superiority of the Russian hockey team. Here was a game that originated in Canada and at which Americans and especially the Canadians have long been best. Yet neither of our teams, made up of the leading amateurs in North America, was able to pierce the Russian defenses to score a single goal. Russian winter sports experts are today far and away the best in the whole world.

To reach their present pitch of efficiency, athletic contests have had to go through a number of stages of development. What began for sheer fun (as it did, for example, with a peach basket and an old ball), and out of a certain youthful zest for exercise in the outdoors, has submitted to the demands of organized competition.

In the early stages of this process enjoyment is still uppermost—as with intramural and interclass contests, sandlot baseball and the like. A further stage in the United States would be the organization of certain leagues: of various summer teams, of schools and colleges of similar enrollments where sports are not overemphasized or subsidized in any fashion. Next comes big-time sports involving athletic scholarships and games in stadiums witnessed by scores of thousands. Finally, on our American scene, comes the hard business of professional sports. At each higher rung of this sporting ladder the compulsion to win becomes that much greater.

That is why the totalitarian approach to international athletic contests carries such a process to its logical conclusion. It makes for athletic proficiency beyond that ever before achieved by less indoctrinating and rigorous training methods. And just as a democratic society such as ours suffers when sports becomes magnified beyond all legitimate context, so too a totalitarian regime may lose ground by the very magnitude of its athletic triumphs. The Russians had refused to enter these contests before—until they were reasonably certain of winning; now they are champions indeed. But to be convinced as they are, and as Hitler was in 1936, that their athletic representatives simply cannot afford to lose is hardly a sign of strength or confidence.

THE BULGANIN LETTERS

ADLAI STEVENSON, who seems to have made an avocation out of taking "unpopular" positions on political issues, recently found himself in splendid isolation again. Commenting on the recent exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin, Mr. Stevenson remarked: "The sudden Soviet pressure for a treaty of friendship implying that any agreement on Germany depends on the United States' accepting this treaty calls for careful consideration. We must not appear to the free peoples of the world either to reject offers of friendship or to submit to blackmail."

Mr. Stevenson's lonely voice was almost drowned out by the choruses of praise for President Eisenhower's "polite but firm" rejection of the Russian offer of a friendship pact, and his calling on the Russians for "deeds, not words" in any effort to ease the tensions of the cold war. Nevertheless, we share Mr. Stevenson's modestly stated reluctance to join the general chorus of praise for the statesmanship of the Eisenhower reply. It was, perhaps, polite where it should have been firm, and firm where it should have been polite.

There can be little doubt that the Russian suggestion of a twenty-year pact was but one of a series of diplomatic and propaganda maneuvers designed to tip the precarious world balance in the Soviet's favor. Premier Bulganin was ostensibly talking to President Eisenhower; actually, he was talking *through* the President to the "uncommitted third" of the world, which is fearful of being caught in the middle of an armed conflict between the two atomic giants.

It might have helped the sagging position of the U.S. in these uncommitted countries if Mr. Eisenhower had talked to them through Premier Bulganin, and made his reply to Moscow an open letter to those areas of the world which are inclined to believe that America, not Russia, is the real threat to peace and turns the screws of mounting world tensions.

A little more firmness and less politeness, for example, would have suggested to the Russians that the U.S. was reluctant to enter into a pact because the Russians have acquired a bad reputation for making paper pacts. Listing by name and date the scores of pacts, treaties and conventions which the Russians have broken might make impressive and salutary reading in those emergent nations which mistake the paw of the bear for the hand of friendship.

In much the same way as it failed to have any effect as a badly-needed instrument of propaganda, the Eisenhower reply was ineffective as an instrument of policy. The U.S. might have acted, instead of simply reacting to the Soviet offer and thereby handing the initiative right back to the Russians. The American reply might well have

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stated that we were willing to probe the possibilities of a non-aggression pact if certain conditions were met: the reunification of Germany through supervised elections, for example, and adoption of *both* the Soviet and Eisenhower proposals as immediate, initial phases to full disarmament.

There is little likelihood that Russia would accept these conditions, but if they were rejected, it would have been Russia, and not the U.S., which seemed to bar the path toward peace. As things stand now, the Russian propaganda machine is already telling the neutral nations that the U.S. has again treated the dove of peace like a clay pigeon by "rejecting an offer of friendship."

In any event, a declared willingness on our part to explore further the possibilities of a pact of friendship would have led to more talk at or near the summit between the Russians and the West. President Eisenhower's use of the "words, not deeds" maxim seemed to close the door on further discussion with more firmness than politeness.

But surely words are important when they are exchanged between the heads of the two most powerful nations in the world. If for no other reason, they may enable the West to find out what the East is really thinking and also keep open a channel of at least minimal communication. It would be tragic if, in the complex and never completely predictable tangle of world politics, the West should surround itself with a wall of righteous silence.

If, as most observers feel, an atomic stalemate is shaping up, it might be the part of wisdom for us in the West to declare our willingness to talk, with endless patience and fortitude, on the subject of peace, because it is a subject which intrigues us. Such willingness to talk peace, anytime, anywhere, might help to restore the initiative where it rightfully belongs—to the free nations for whom world peace is the condition and goal of political existence and not, as the issue of peace is for the Soviet, tempting bait in the trap.

PROPAGANDA ABROAD

TWO COMMUNIST publications in Czechoslovakia recently warned party members that they were being swayed too easily by the supposed easing of international tensions. They expressed sharply the fear that Communists of satellite countries may act upon the Soviet's expressed desire for more friendly relations with the Western world. The internal rumblings reveal some of the problems that can arise when propaganda clearly marked "export" is consumed at home.

Two party publications, the *Zivot Strany* and *Bratislava Pravda,* said that the true state of international affairs had been misunderstood and that in the consequent relaxation of tensions, things had gone too far. In going too far, there had been a general emergence of "social democratic tendencies." Of those that were mentioned, several are of particular importance.

First, there was a reprehensible attempt at egalitarianism. This was evident, according to the publications, in the campaign to narrow the wage gap between various kinds of workers by raising the wages of the lowest. The second and highly significant charge was that of "spontaneity." The Communists were told that they were acting in an uncalled-for spontaneous fashion when they were diverted from long-range aims by sudden moods and new demands of the masses.

The secretary of the central committee, writing in the *Zivot Strany,* made the polysyllabic charge that the party members, particularly intellectuals, had shown "signs of ideological vacillation, of succumbing to illusions of conciliatory liberalism, and of a wrong conception of freedom under socialism."

In its attempt to woo and win the neutral countries the Soviet Union has insisted that its designs have the friendliest motivations, and it has, intermittently, expressed belief in the peaceful intentions of the U.S. and other Western powers. We have had ample opportunity since last summer to see that their "peace offensive," while not completely successful, was highly effective. So strong is the desire for peace and the easing of international tensions that many who had learned to be highly skeptical of Communist propaganda were temporarily swayed by expectations of a lessening of tensions and a better life, all prompted by Soviet overtures to the West.

But the abyss which existed between words and deeds of the Communists continued to exist. And those who, in this area of peaceful competition reacted according to the words rather than deeds were at odds with reality. This is what the present Czechoslovakian Communist warning emphasizes. Possessed of the facts and correctly evaluating the worth of the Soviet overtures, they insist upon the fact of international tensions rather than the illusion of relaxation. The long-range aims of the Communist Party remain the same, and they do not wish the confusion they have created for others to be visited upon themselves. Their warning not only shows that the satellites can unwittingly accept Soviet propaganda, but it indicates one way in which we can turn the propaganda to our own advantage.

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The Facts of Foreign Aid

"ON THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN AID, THERE APPEARS TO BE A HAPPY CONCURRENCE BETWEEN NATIONAL INTEREST AND LARGER HUMAN VALUES"

ROBERT C. GOOD

SINCE the end of World War II, the United States has given or loaned (mostly given) fifty-one billion dollars to the rest of the world. What have we received in return for the outlay, and should the program now be discontinued?

Overseas aid will be the hottest issue of foreign policy in the present session of Congress, but the battle will not be a partisan one. The line which divides big foreign aid spenders from those who would cut back all foreign aid programs runs through the middle of both parties. Senator George Malone, a Republican from Nevada, for example, has publicly and without qualification called all foreign aid Operation Rathole. On the other hand, Illinois' Republican Senator Everett Dirksen, in the most startling about-face since the onset of Harry Cain's romance with liberalism, declared on the floor of the Senate last summer: "I remember . . . I used to attack this (foreign aid) program with a great deal of vigor. I take it back. Publicly and privately, I take it back." Among the Democrats, the fiscal conservatives from the South will square off against the more liberal spenders of the North. Southerners Harry Byrd and Walter George head respectively the strategically important Senate Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees. Each is on record against the "big give-away."

As a matter of fact, this is the first item to straighten out. "Give-away" is not exactly apropos. Even the most casual look discloses that ten years of foreign aid has not been given away so much as invested. Whether wisely or not can better be assessed when the facts are set forth.

OUR fifty-one billion dollars has been spent in three sizable chunks. The first and largest purchased the rehabilitation of seventeen nations in Europe following the war. The bill for this was about twenty-seven and one-half billion, including postwar relief, bilateral loans and Marshall Plan aid. The second segment has been used to buy military strength for the free world at a cost thus far of about fourteen and one-half billion. The remainder, about nine billion, has found its way to the poverty-stricken areas of our world. Though most of this amount has been tied closely to the military programs of a small number of countries, a portion has been used to bolster anemic economies and advance long-overdue economic and technical development.

No one familiar with conditions in Europe after the war could with equanimity question the wisdom of American aid. I spent 1946 and 1947 as a relief worker in Italy, France and Germany. This was a frightening period when the most elementary supplies were unobtainable except in Switzerland and Sweden, when men counted their wealth in American cigarettes, when a man could sit on the ruins of his house and talk of the inevitability of World War III. Hopelessness was running quickly downhill to final and complete despair.

The war had taken a heavy toll. Low production, inflation and vanishing bank reserves were producing a mortal illness. In early 1947, industrial output in Germany was only twenty-seven per cent of prewar levels. European agricultural production was generally only eighty per cent of prewar volume. But during the same period, Europe's population had crept up eight percentage points, putting a further strain on available supplies. For the better part of 1947, the official ration allowed each German was only fifteen hundred calories a day. Catastrophe in gigantic proportions threatened an entire continent.

Attempts at digging out were stopped by an unprecedented freeze during the winter of 1946-47. The following summer, drought gripped the continent. The yield of grain crops in France fell by thirty per cent, the worst crop on record. With each passing month, Europe sank farther into debt. By 1947, the United States was shipping to Europe goods in excess of Europe's ability to pay to the amount of eleven and one-half billion dollars per year. This was called the dollar gap. It was in fact a chasm, and growing rapidly wider.

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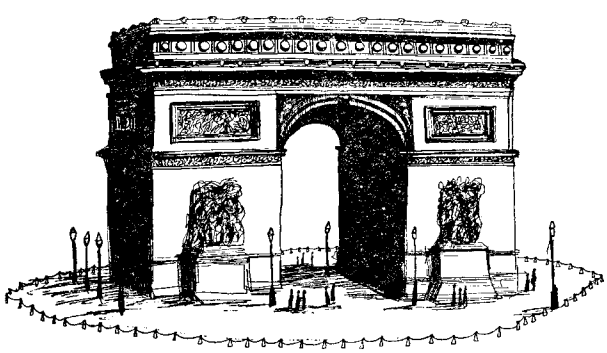
Bilateral loans were arranged. Britain received over three billion from the U.S.; France, over one billion. This move helped momentarily, but the hemorrhage which was draining off Europe's financial reserves was not stopped. Nor could it be until Europe's productive plant had been retooled, the enervating customs restrictions on intra-European trade pried loose, and export levels sufficiently raised to permit Europe to pay her own way in the world. Dean Acheson, reflecting on these bleak years, once observed: "No one had a picture of the completeness of the disruption that had occurred. . . . We had operated on a theory of dealing with hunger, disease, and unrest until one or two good crops could come in. But the problems were more far-reaching, and it grew upon us toward the end of 1946 that we were heading for very bad trouble."

ONE important source of this trouble was located in Moscow. The Russians were consolidating their gains in Eastern Europe with frightening efficiency. The social and economic chaos of Western Europe promised quick rewards for Communist agitators. Yet we could not afford to lose that area. Crippled though it was, it represented an industrial potential second only to that of the United States.

This is why, on June 5, 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall announced: "It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. . . . Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the



United States government." General Marshall also stressed that the initiative must be taken by the Europeans themselves, and that the program must be a cooperative effort agreed to by a number of European states.

Europe both initiated and cooperated with astonishing speed. The story has it that Britain's foreign minister, Ernest Bevin, heard of Marshall's speech while still in bed and got in touch with the Foreign Office immediately. Statesmen rushed to Paris to draw up estimates of funds needed for full recovery. Upon completion of their work, an emergency session of the U.S. Congress was called and interim funds were made available. Early in 1948, the legislators wrote and passed a bill which became known as the Marshall Plan.

During the next four years, thirteen billion dollars worth of life-giving plasma was pumped into the European economic system. The figure as such is probably meaningless to most people, but someone has estimated that at the height of the Marshall Plan there were at any given moment an average of one hundred and fifty merchant ships either on the high seas with full cargoes of Marshall Plan aid for Europe or unloading at European ports. By the Plan's terminal date in 1952, industrial production had been increased forty per cent over 1948, agricultural output was above prewar levels, intra-European trade had jumped eighty-six per cent, exports to the rest of the world were up sixty-six per cent, inflation had been controlled and hope restored. In short, at a cost of thirteen billion dollars for Marshall aid and more than twice that amount for all non-military aid given since World War II, Western Europe had been saved for the free world. "The American people," observed an eminent British economist, "offered 'a new birth of freedom' not only to themselves but to all mankind."

BEFORE the Marshall Plan had completed its work, the Communists started an aggressive war in Korea. Overnight, the emphasis in foreign aid shifted from recovery to rearmament. ERP (the European Recovery Program) became MSA (the Mutual Security Agency).

The accomplishments of this program, though at many points still inadequate, have been impressive. American funds have purchased for our allies over one thousand aircraft, close to that number of naval vessels, nearly forty thousand tanks and combat vehicles, and over two hundred thousand transport vehicles. With our help our allies are now bringing into being more than one hundred and eighty divisions, nine times the size of our own establishment, with air squadrons and combat vessels roughly equal to that of ours.

We have mustered for our mutual defense the combined strength of well over thirty nations. The price tag for military aid since World War II is in the neighborhood of fourteen and one-half billion dollars, a gigantic sum but considerably less than ten per cent of our own military budget for the same period. It is important to point out that our allies themselves are absorbing the greater part of the cost. For example, the NATO governments put up three dollars of their

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own for defense for every dollar received from the United States.

THE remainder of our fifty-one billion dollar investment, about nine billion, has found its way to the underdeveloped areas of Asia, the Near East, Africa and Latin America. These depressed areas contain two-thirds of the free world's population, raw materials crucial to the free world's economy, and possibly a decisive voice in determining the free world's fate. Their problems are simple and primordial. Health: life expectancy is fixed at an average thirty-six years, while in some localities every second baby dies in infancy. Food: diets for many are fully one-fifth below the minimum needed for normal activity. Illiteracy: seventy per cent cannot read or write. Primitive techniques: the average income per year is thirty-five to eighty dollars—forty times less than that of an American.

New political currents are today penetrating the stagnant backwaters of the under-developed parts of the world. The past ten years have seen the emergence of a dozen independent nations, all in Asia, the Near East, and Africa. Independence has shaken ancient lethargy. Levels of discontent and unrest are rising. It is no longer enough to maintain the status quo. Political unrest and the appeal to radical solutions can be allayed only by satisfying the demand for a better, more secure, more wholesome life. This is what President Eisenhower had in mind when he spoke of "a declared, total war . . . upon the brute forces of poverty and need."

So we have invested nine billion dollars in the underdeveloped areas. A very large share of this amount has been going recently to a very few states: South Korea, Formosa, free Indochina. It is being used to bolster the economies of these states, thus making it possible for them to support armies quite out of proportion to their size and economic potential. Over a billion dollars has been appropriated for the programs of international organizations dispensing relief and economic rehabilitation in the depressed areas. The remainder has financed economic development and technical assistance programs in some sixty nations around the globe.

It is difficult to know how to assess the results of these programs. Certain figures look encouraging: twenty-seven hundred technical assistance experts at work overseas; over forty American universities under contract for technical assistance projects; some five thousand leaders and future leaders from depressed areas brought to the United States during 1955 to observe techniques. But take these figures and divide them by sixty countries and the accumulated poverty of countless centuries and the result is but a fraction of the actual need. This is not exactly Mr. Eisenhower's "declared, total war"; it is more like a backwoods skirmish.

However, pilot experiments indicate that limited battles can be won. "In Brazil," one report reads, "life expectancy in seventeen cities of the Amazon Valley has been raised from 37 to 47.7 years in a decade." It is estimated that cooperative health programs have affected more than twenty-five million people in Latin America alone. In Iran, twenty-thou-

sand teachers and potential teachers were trained under a cooperative educational program in just two years. In Libya, the encroaching desert was pushed back; in the Sudan, a locust plague stopped; in Thailand, millions of dollars worth of roads and railways are under construction. But it is not the past accomplishments that count, so much as the future possibilities to which these limited successes point.

THE entire question of foreign aid will soon be debated in Congress. The President has asked for $4,900,000,000 more to keep the program going for another year. Here are a few perspectives on this question which should inform the coming Congressional debate.

The Administration has explained that if the foreign aid program is to be maintained at its present level, considerably more money must be appropriated this year than was last. This is because the foreign aid program for the past three years has been living off the fat accumulated from 1951 through 1953 when expenditures were considerably less than appropriations. This excess has now been greatly reduced. In actual fact, since 1953 the government has spent 3.3 billion dollars more for foreign aid than was appropriated for these same years. Last summer, for example, Congress voted 2.7 billion dollars for fiscal year 1956. But by the end of fiscal 1956 we probably shall have spent 4.2 billion dollars.

The Administration has been something less than prudent to have allowed this situation to develop. Nevertheless, the fact remains that with the pipelines now beginning to run dry, Congress will have to appropriate this year about two billion dollars more

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than it budgeted last year simply to maintain our programs at present strength. In the light of this, Senator George's recent statement that "sentiment has been growing in Congress to trim economic aid way down" is hardly encouraging. Nor is the past record of Congress which consistently has cut back the Administration's requests for funds. During his three years in office, President Eisenhower has received for overseas aid 1.8 billion less than he requested.

The figures in this area are deceptive. It has been widely stated that of last year's 2.7 billion dollar appropriation for overseas aid, 1.6 billion was to go for economic aid. It has also been stated frequently that most of our aid is now going to Asia and the Near East. Strictly speaking, this is true. What the figures conceal is the fact that almost one billion dollars in economic aid was appropriated for "defense support" programs, and that the lion's share of this one billion is allocated to South Korea, Formosa and free Indochina.

"Defense support" means economic aid, but its purpose is to fortify the economies of countries whose large military establishments are beyond their ability to support. This kind of aid is thus tied to military objectives, which means it is applicable only for those countries willing and able to establish military alliances with the West. There is nothing wrong with this except that there is precious little cash left over for the thirty-odd underdeveloped countries which do not qualify for defense support aid. In fact, what was left over for economic development and technical assistance from the last appropriation was considerably less than half a billion dollars.

The wisdom of the policy which gears so much of our economic aid to strictly military objectives must be measured against the new reality of international politics today, namely, the Soviet Union's recently inaugurated economic offensive directed toward the depressed parts of the world. It remains to be seen how wise and how effective this offensive will be. But this is hardly the time for the United States to consider withdrawing from the arena.

The reason for economic aid is not to buy military alliances, but to produce greater economic and social stability in areas of the world where social unrest creates vulnerability to Communist infiltration. Viewed in this light, the new "Northern Tier" alliance along the Soviet's southwestern frontier, and composed of Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, might more fruitfully be made the instrument of economic development rather than military strength.

IN his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower declared that free governments in the underdeveloped areas needed "assurance of continuity in economic assistance for development projects and programs which we approve and which require a period of years for planning and completion." This is common sense. Egypt's Aswan dam project on the upper Nile is a nice example. It is estimated that it will take at least ten years to complete.

There has in fact been considerable continuity in our overseas aid program during recent years. Despite large variations in appropriations and frequent threats to liquidate the whole thing, we have been spending annually between 4.2 and 4.8 billions for foreign aid. What is now needed is to begin preaching what we practice. We must give the assurance that this continuity is a recognized part of our policy.

When the discussion turns to the work of the UN, it should be noted that the technical assistance program of the UN and its specialized agencies is doing much the same thing as the program of our own government. But the difference is that the UN works at the level of multilateral, international cooperation. Therefore its programs are free from the accusation, no matter how false it might be, of imperialistic intervention in the domestic affairs of states being helped. This allows economic aid to be carried on in countries which are reluctant, for a number of reasons, to accept U.S. aid directly.

Again, remembering that our objective in many underdeveloped areas is not to buy military alliances but create conditions of stability so as to prevent Communist infiltration, it is entirely in our interest to support the UN program. For 1956 our contribution is $15.5 million, a sum that represents well over half the total UN budget for technical assistance. Understandably, we are reluctant to contribute more until such increases as we might give are matched by other participants. However the possibility of such all-round increases might well be explored further.

Finally, one would hope that the simple humanitarian argument will not be absent from the coming Congressional debate. A nation cannot afford to sacrifice the national interest in order to serve humanitarian motives. But on the question of foreign aid, there appears to be a happy concurrence between interest and larger human values.

Before swinging the axe at our overseas aid program, and before demanding huge tax reductions, we would do well to reflect on the magnitude of our material wealth and our good fortune in a poverty-ridden world. Arnold Toynbee has suggested that our age may well be remembered "not for its horrifying crimes or its astonishing inventions but because it is the first age since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practicable to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race." This session of Congress might ponder the challenge contained in the famous historian's surmise.

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A Catholic President?

JOHN J. KANE

COULD a Catholic be elected President of the United States in 1956? Regardless of the party nominating him, how would contemporary America receive a Catholic candidate for the highest office in the United States? To give an answer to this question we should go back to the campaign of Alfred E. Smith, to date the only Catholic Presidential nominee of a major party. The story of his campaign and his ultimate defeat makes less than pleasant reading. But it is necessary reading if the past and present are to be meaningfully compared or contrasted.

Governor Smith was soundly defeated, carrying only eight of the forty-eight states, and receiving fifteen million votes to Herbert Hoover's twenty-one million. Lady Astor said that Al Smith was defeated by prosperity, prohibition and Protestantism. This statement is more notable for alliteration than for depth of analysis. Had she said prosperity, prohibition and prejudice, she would have been closer to the truth, since social, as well as religious, prejudice was involved. Prosperity and prohibition were quite important factors, and Protestantism effectively and empirically demonstrated that its political influence, existent throughout American history, was not seriously impaired. But Governor Smith's defeat likewise proved that the so-called American dream, the Horatio Alger vision of "from rags to riches" or, in a political context, from humble origins to the Presidency, did not operate in the case of a Catholic seeking this office.

Mr. Smith undoubtedly labored under certain handicaps solely because of his religion. Rumors that the Pope was packed and ready to come to the United States as soon as Al Smith was elected circulated widely. One claim was made that a convent had been purchased in New Jersey to be occupied as the Papal residence as soon as the ballots were tallied. Another said, not that the Pope was coming, but was in fact already here, disguised as a barber in the Grand Central Station shop.

Certain Protestant leaders, among whom must be mentioned the late Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, attacked Governor Smith largely on religious grounds. In a widely-circulated pamphlet, Bishop Cannon claimed that the Catholic Church taught that no Protestant could be saved, that all non-Catholic marriages were branded as adulterous and children of such marriages considered illegitimate, and that Catholics considered the public schools a damnable heresy. Other pamphlets, by anonymous authors, resurrected the obscene, pornographic stories of clerical immorality in convents and asked what would happen to American womanhood if Smith were elected. At the Trinity Methodist Church in Los Angeles sermons were preached on the topics: "Was Abraham Lincoln assassinated by a Catholic?" and "Is the Roman Machine Directly Connected with the Policy of Assassinations?" Even the New York *Times,* not given to hysteria or idle rumors, noted the spread of religious bigotry in the South, and stated that the bishop of one area instructed his ministers to preach a series of sermons on Catholicism.

Roman Catholicism then, and prejudice against it, were certainly issues in the presidential campaign of 1928. But there was a bright side even to this dismal picture. "The Calvert Associates" was formed to combat religious bigotry, and leading Protestant and Jewish spokesmen publicly deplored the introduction of the religious issue. The widespread rumors and pamphlets, while they may create the impression that Protestant America stood solidly against Governor Smith because of his religion, were undoubtedly financed, perhaps to the tune of several million dollars, by a relatively few people. At least so Alfred E. Smith seems to believe in his autobiography. In view of these past facts, how would a Catholic candidate for the Presidency of the United States fare today?

AT THE outset, of course, the answer would depend upon which party nominated him and the type of platform upon which he stood. He could possibly go down to defeat for purely political, social or economic reasons in which religion would play no part. This surmise, admittedly, is optimistic; possible but scarcely probable. He might or might not be elected, but certainly the religious issue would be raised as it has been raised in purely local or state campaigns. There would, however, be notable differences between the campaign of 1928 and that of 1956.

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More than water has flowed under the American bridge in the past twenty-eight years. Fortunately, a great deal of prejudice and bigotry has also been washed away. How much remains is not easily estimated, but anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant attitudes have not, obviously, completely disappeared from American society. Furthermore, they can be aroused with a disturbing ease, as is evidenced by the recent deplorable incidents in the South. The nomination of a Catholic Presidential candidate might readily set the stage for a revival of anti-Catholicism, even as the suggestion of a Vatican envoy did during the Truman administration. Yet there would be a difference between 1928 and 1956. Paul Blanshard stated: "The new opposition (to Catholicism) is not based upon the type of personal bigotry which disgraced the country during the Al Smith campaign. It is strongest among the liberals who have always stood most courageously for personal tolerance."

Just how liberal is a "liberal" who stands most courageously for tolerance except in the case of Catholicism? Mr. Blanshard's statement did no service to American liberals, already sufficiently beleaguered from other quarters. Neither was it entirely fair to claim that the strongest criticism of Catholicism existed among "all" liberals. Yet like many of Mr. Blanshard's statements, there is some truth to his claim, because some identified as liberals have likewise identified themselves as critics and opponents of Catholicism. Furthermore, these are generally the more articulate members of American society, those who write the books and magazine articles, make speeches and are numerous in the field of communications. Their ability to arouse prejudice and bigotry is out of all proportion to their numbers.

Yet those persons reputedly most strongly opposed to Catholicism are the ones who are also reputedly most strongly opposed to prejudice and discrimination toward any minority. Such critics of Catholicism might well become schizoid except for a neat rationalization they employ. While they tend to deplore the so-called divisiveness of the Catholic religious community from the rest of American life, they are rather busy trying to create a type of divisiveness within the Catholic community itself. As one writer has put it, there is an effort to separate "the good guys" from "the bad guys," the former being the Catholic laity, the latter the American Catholic hierarchy. Here is a clue to the kind of anti-Catholicism that might occur if a Catholic were nominated for the Presidency.

These individuals seem beset by one gnawing fear: the emergence of American Catholics from a minority status. This emergence has nothing to do with numbers. If it had, these critics could indeed relax, for the Catholic population has shown no tremendous leaps and bounds in proportion to other religious groups in the United States. It is rather a question of power, and behind it lurks the fear that Catholic social thought might penetrate American life. The chief terror evoked by possibilities of increased Catholic influence in America would be described in the words of the groups under discussion as authoritarianism.

Under these circumstances their strategy of opposition to a Catholic candidate would probably run like this. Mr. So and So is a fine man, well worthy of election. His religion should not operate against him and would not, except that every Catholic suffers from thought control, purse control, and birth control at the hands of the American hierarchy. If he, or American Catholics generally, could control their Church, Catholicism would become American and America could have a Catholic President. The major issue in the campaign, then, unlike that in the Smith campaign, would not be personal prejudice toward the candidate or even a generalized anti-Catholicism. It would probably not run to obscene or pornographic fictions of convent and clerical debauchery. Tunnels from the White House to Rome would be laughed to scorn. (Airplanes are both faster and cheaper.) It might not even involve any evaluation of the assets of the candidate, but might center around the liabilities of the American hierarchy.

SPECIFIC issues raised would probably vary from place to place, but two or three would certainly be national in scope. One that any candidate will have to face and a Catholic candidate simply could not dodge would be that of Federal aid to education. Any intimation that a Catholic candidate would recommend help to private as well as to public education, or would speak in terms of assisting all American children and not just those in public schools, would wheel into action against him certain powerful groups, one of which at least is also a powerful lobby. In the last analysis this would probably be a touchier subject than prohibition ever was in the Smith campaign. Even if a Catholic candidate stood firmly opposed to aiding private schools, it is doubtful that he would be believed. Perhaps this issue would be sufficient in certain quarters to outweigh a platform otherwise entirely acceptable, for the issue has become, or threatens to become, highly charged emotionally.

The Vatican-envoy question would likewise be raised. This, perhaps, is more easily dealt with, but one can readily recall some of the hysterical pronouncements made when former President Truman proposed it. This relatively unimportant matter could rank with foreign policy and agriculture as campaign issues. Less important, but not to be excluded, is a

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vaguer, less publicized fear of a Holy War against Communism. Would a Catholic President be urged or compelled by the hierarchy to wage it?

Prejudice and bigotry are always dangerous. Even the new type of anti-Catholicism which might occur in such a campaign would be harmful to the interests of the United States, because it would becloud or diminish the importance of vital issues which must be met in the coming election. Certainly, it would raise all kinds of absurd and irrelevant questions, as even the careful might forget that the President is bound by the Constitution and responsible to Congress in many of his actions.

Today, the United States is the leader of the free world. If prejudice against Catholics in this country is less personal and less virulent, the danger of it is even greater and its effects more likely to be lethal. If it should prevent the nomination or election of a Catholic, eminently qualified for the office, it would mean much more than it did in 1928. How, for instance, might our Catholic allies in Europe view such prejudice? What greater lesson in undemocratic procedures could a reputedly democratic power teach a world which it is urging into democracy? Yet it did happen here once. May it never happen again, to the harm of both America and the Church.

COMPULSORY IRISH

The Uses of Gaelic

DAVID H. GREENE

THE TOURISTS had all departed, there was a touch of Irish winter in the air, and the only Americans I saw in Dublin—outside of the embassy people—were the students I met in Davy Byrne's and a handful of older academics like myself who were working on literary projects. The issue of the moment was a football game between an Irish and a Yugoslav team. An archbishop had denounced the proceedings, the President had canceled his plans to attend, the Army band announced it would not provide music at the game, and Radio Eireann had decided not to broadcast a description of it. But 23,000 Irishmen had thronged into the stadium on a weekday afternoon, rooted for the losing home team, and witnessed a prominent member of the Dail being photographed on the field shaking hands with the captain of each team. I could only conclude that the Irish are not so "priest ridden" as one is sometimes led to believe and that a nation's pulse is not always what the chart at the foot of the bed says it is.

My introduction to a more complex issue came a few days later when I asked a waitress in a restaurant in St. Stephens Green if she could speak Gaelic. She had hardly said no when a man sitting next to me, who had apparently been annoyed by my question, glared at her over his bowl of soup and upbraided her for telling the American she couldn't speak the language she had been "born and bred to." The visitor to the country finds it hard to understand the curious idealism which apparently motivates the government's program of compulsory Irish. A young American Army officer who saw the notices in Gaelic posted at the Dublin airport asked me if he was likely to have any difficulty making himself understood in the west of Ireland where he was going to investigate his ancestral origins. It was clear that his apprehension had arisen quite suddenly. I showed him his bus ticket printed in both English and Irish and told him that his relatives would probably be bilingual and that not even his New York accent would hamper him.

Like everything else in Ireland the language question has a history. I once heard it summed up in this way. Gaelic is the language of the Gael, while English is the language of the conqueror who despoiled Ireland. When he had the country under his heel the Englishman systematically and effectively discouraged the speaking of Irish. Now the Irishman, who got rid of the Englishman in 1921, is merely reversing the process and righting a wrong. Though this is the way I have heard politicians put it I have also heard another explanation, which I suspect most defenders of compulsory Irish would prefer to rest their case on. It is that Ireland wants its people to be bilingual and has no intention of eliminating English altogether. Gaelic is the key to what is called the "national memory." With this key the Gael can free himself from a culture which, despite its virtues, is not his own culture and which has either stifled his own genius or at the least prevented it from

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developing in a more natural way. The proof of this, it is argued, is the glorious Literary Revival which began in the '90's, when Irish writers rejected English models and, inspired by the rediscovery of a native mythology and literature, went back to a well of Irish undefiled. It is not always emphasized, however, that Yeats and his contemporaries knew little Gaelic and the draughts they took from the well were in the English translations of the Celtic scholars and the popularizations of Standish James O'Grady. And if they had not written their plays in English, an Englishwoman would not have come forth with a bountiful purse to finance the establishment of the Abbey Theater.

WHATEVER the rationale of compulsory Irish may be, let no one conclude that it is something merely talked about. Compulsory Irish is really compulsory. If you would hold a civil service job, teach in a National school, practice law or medicine, or even act in the Abbey Theater you must pass an examination in Irish, however loosely it might be administered to you.

It is not so easy to determine how thoroughly or effectively it is being used in the schools. In Ireland what we would call the public schools are administered by a local "manager," usually the parish priest, deriving his authority directly from the government's Department of Education. The Department has ruled that "English is no longer permitted in the Infant Schools," which can only mean that children entering kindergarten must be taught exclusively in Irish and that Irish is the only language to be used in the classroom. In 1948 the Department conceded that "English may be taught for one half-hour per day." But as all teachers know there is often a great gap between rule and practice. And just how thoroughly the rule is being enforced may be gathered from the recent report of an observer for the *Times* of London who, it must be granted, would not be considered disinterested by many Irishmen. "Sixty little girls," he writes, "aged from four to seven, sit, well-behaved and attentive while the nun who is teaching them holds up a woolly animal. She says 'cat' in Irish and the youngsters repeat the word. One of the class is told to come to the front and to stand on a chair. The telling is done in Irish. The child, touching nose, eyes, tummy, and legs, names the parts of the body one by one, in Irish. . . . There is no doubt that lessons at the kindergarten age are being successfully carried out in Irish to the extent that many of the children are obviously interested and are picking up at least a simple vocabulary. Where the doubt comes in is whether it is worth while. Instruction in the state schools for these newcomers—who, with negligibly few exceptions, hear no Irish at home—is almost 100 percent in the unfamiliar tongue for most of the four hours of an average day's work. Half an hour is given to teaching English, which is otherwise used as sparingly as possible. When the children are told to run out and play, the command is in Irish."

For the grades above kindergarten it is difficult to determine how widely Irish is being used as the language of instruction. The Department's objective of having every subject—except religion—taught through the medium of Irish is obviously much easier to achieve in the Gaeltacht, that part of Ireland where Irish never ceased to be spoken by at least some of the people, than in other parts of Ireland, where it was obliterated. In parts of Clare, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Mayo and Waterford, which are classified as Fior Gaeltacht—Irish-speaking areas—the pupils obviously hear some Irish out of school hours. In a good many instances the teacher is a native speaker. The children I spoke to in Connemara and West Kerry, for instance, all appeared to understand me—I do not speak Irish—but a good many of them answered me in Irish and some of them insisted on speaking only Irish. Obviously the school visited by the *Times* man, where the only Irish the children heard was at school, was not in the Fior Gaeltacht.

THE GAELTACHT, however, is neither all of Ireland nor a very large part of it. It covers only parts of the seven counties I mentioned out of the twenty-six which make up the Republic of Ireland. Moreover it is subdivided into Fior Gaeltacht, described as "Irish speaking," and Breac Gaeltacht, "partly Irish speaking." The former comprises only 17% and the latter only 15% of the total population of the Republic. The government is attempting to preserve the Fior Gaeltacht as the last fortress of the Celt, but the Gaeltacht continues to lose its identity since the flood of emigration, though no longer at the full, is still flowing freely.

Outside the Gaeltacht one can divide the Irish speakers into two groups—the younger people, who are the products of compulsory Irish in the schools, and the older people, who are not. It was the older people whom I heard speaking Irish more frequently, and in fact they alone appeared willing even to talk about it. Three boys in their teens, whom I met in the mountains of Wicklow, had great difficulty in translating for me a short inscription on a memorial erected to three heroes of the rising of '98. I heard no Irish from young people on the streets, in cinema or bus queues, or in the restaurants.

From the older people I heard a great deal of Irish, though I often wondered how strong their command of syntax was. These are the generation

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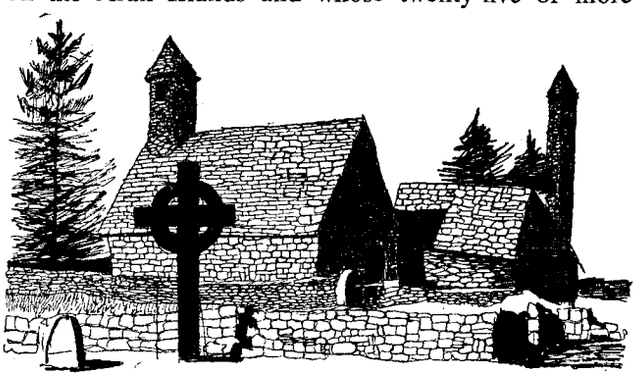
who learned the language by their own efforts in the days when it was exciting and patriotic to do so. They attended classes sponsored by the Gaelic League and they spent their vacations in the Gaeltacht where for two weeks they could converse with native speakers. A good many of them changed their names from the Anglicized forms they had known from childhood into Gaelic. O'Keefe suddenly became O'Cuiv, O'Callaghan became O'Ceallachain, and O'Sullivan became O'Suilleabhain. Today they still speak Irish on occasion and try to help their children with the homework. The old enthusiasm has understandably waned in an Ireland which has other problems to face. One of them recently complained in a letter to the *Irish Times* about the difficulties of speaking Irish to his children. "What are the words in Irish for 'socks' and 'stockings,' 'jersey' and 'cardigan,' 'shoes' and 'boots,' for an 'electric plug' and 'switch'? The only solution I can offer is that Irish lessons should take place in a room without settees, armchairs, coffee-tables, ashtrays, electricity, table-lamps or modern toys."

BUT THE policy of the government is still the same, and one can only gather that politicians know what is good for them. One hears news broadcasts in Irish over Radio Eireann—though in 1953, which is the latest year for which figures have been published, only one-eighth of the total time given such broadcasts was in Irish. The street signs, railroad and bus tickets, and government documents are printed in both English and Irish. Authors are encouraged through subsidies to publish books in Irish. But however rewarding this may be to the struggling writer, its literary implications must be formidable. Without mentioning vocabulary and the subtler limitations that every language has, what writer will deliberately address himself to the very small audience of Irish speakers who are able and willing to buy books? Gaelic may be the key to the "national memory," and indispensable to the candidate for public office, but for the writer it can only be suicide. Liam O'Flaherty, who was brought up as a native speaker on the Aran Islands and whose twenty-five or more books have brought him an international reputation, has recently written a book of short stories in his native tongue. I wonder how many people, either in or out of Ireland, have read it—or, more important to Mr. O'Flaherty, bought it.



Whether there will be any relaxation of the present requirements is something that politics more than anything else may decide. Voters are still frequently appealed to in metaphors which strike the outsider at least as having little meaning in the free Ireland of today. When, for instance, an editorial in the *Irish Press* complains about a foreign ideology that is seeping into the country, it is not talking about Communism but about English newspapers and magazines. The recent IRA raid on a police barracks in Northern Ireland resulting in a mysterious night-time inquest and burial of a dead raider in Monaghan was a source of obvious embarrassment to a government aware of the political consequences of proscribing a group which claims descent from a heroic generation of Irish rebels. The language question must be viewed against a historical background which still persists as part of the present-day atmosphere.

Meanwhile the visitor to Ireland will continue to wonder at the picture of a government systematically forcing children to speak Gaelic as an English government once forced them to speak English. If one attempts to talk about it with the young people he meets indifference, with the older people embarrassment. If one talks to the politicians he is told, as I was, that Americans are materialistic and that since we have no mother tongue of our own we have not produced a culture or a literature that is our own. One of my students a few years ago took part in a debate at Trinity College, Dublin, on the question of whether there was such a thing as an American literature.

The one ominious note, though, which was recently sounded by a senior professor at The Institute for Advanced Studies in Dublin, where Old Irish texts are being studied and edited by the foremost Celtic scholars in Ireland, is that Celtic studies is receiving its death blow from compulsory Irish. The bright students in the universities, who might be expected to give Ireland the scholars needed to edit the great texts in Old and Middle Irish, are turning away from the subject which inspired an earlier generation of men who opened the doors which had shut off Ireland's view of her own racial past. It was his view that in an atmosphere of coercion Celtic studies could not make the same appeal to the young that other studies and other disciplines could make. It will be an ironic ending to the "miracle that raised a language from the dead" when Ireland has to fill a vacant chair of Celtic with the appointment of a Swiss, a German, an American, or even an Englishman.

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THE SCREEN

WINNER TAKE ALL

I WISH that scriptwriters Cyril Hume and Richard Maibaum, who expanded their excellent hour-long TV play, "Fearful Decision," into a full-length movie, had not made it quite so long. Some of the story's impact is lost in the dallying, and the tension is lessened through repetition. But I'm still glad that "Ransom," as the movie is called, was made. Its story of a father who decides not to pay the ransom demanded by the kidnaper of his son deserves to be told; and Director Alex Segal, who also handled the TV presentation, tells it effectively.

As the father, Glenn Ford gives another of his solid, angry, tortured, stick-by-the-right performances. His best scenes are those which are touched with compassion: when the police chief (Robert Keith) and the reporter (Leslie Nielsen) inform him that paying the ransom is against the law and his son may already be dead, and later, when practically everyone has turned against him for refusing to pay, the exhausted father sobs his heart out in the arms of their Negro houseman (Juano Hernandez). Ford carries the heaviest load of the picture, but he is well supported by these other players and Donna Reed as the hysterical mother, Bobby Clark as the boy himself, Alexander Scourby as the family doctor, and all the rest playing friends, family and neighbors. As a realistic film, I think "Ransom" loses some of its effect by smothering the mother, father and young son in happy smugness at the picture's start, and by allowing everyone, except the police chief, reporter and houseman, to turn against him during the crisis—surely some of his family, friends or neighbors would have appreciated what he was doing and why. But in any case, "Ransom" is a suspenseful thriller as well as a thoughtful film.

WHAT "The Bottom of the Bottle" started out to say is that a man *is* his brother's keeper, but somewhere along the line the theme got so cluttered up with extraneous material that no message comes through with any clarity. As it now stands, or lamely crawls, the film is about two brothers: Joseph Cotten, as a successful lawyer who walked out on his poverty-stricken family years ago and in the elegance of his Arizona home has not given a thought to them since, and Van Johnson as the younger brother who has just escaped from Joliet where he has five more years to serve on his ten-year sentence for killing a man in a drunken brawl. Joe, who has a classy reputation in this southern Arizona community, isn't at all glad to see his jailbird brother who hopes to escape to Mexico and join his wife and three kiddies. Van, who hasn't had a drink for five years, goes berserk when Joe refuses to help him or the little family waiting in Mexico. Joe really is a stinker, and his wife (Ruth Roman), whom he has never allowed to have children, knows it. Along about this time you begin to wonder why Buddy Adler gave this picture such an elaborate production in CinemaScope and De Luxe Color with a large cast that also includes, for no particular reason, many name players. Although the movie is exciting at times, I still think the whole thing should have been left at the bottom of the bottle.

AUDIENCES who have had enough of melodrama by now and want a nice quiet movie whose only excitement is its good music will find "The Benny Goodman Story" just that. It traces Benny's career from a poor neighborhood near Hull House in Chicago in 1919, through the ups and downs of the clarinetist's struggle for recognition *and* jobs, to his famous days in the thirties and finally to his big concert in Carnegie Hall. Steve Allen portrays Goodman as a calm, unassuming man with a great and persistent love for music. Since his romance with a wealthy society girl (played with utmost charm by Donna Reed) drags on through the entire lengthy film, we must suppose that Benny had a persistent, if not great, love for this girl. His mother (Berta Gerstein) seemed to object to both the girl's money and social position. The film's sound track, however, has more zip; and the great Benny himself is joined in it often by Harry James, Gene Krupa, Lionel Hampton, Ziggy Elman and others, many of whom also appear in the picture. Nostalgic middle-agers as well as younger fans will certainly enjoy the film's score, which includes a large number of the songs for which Benny is famous. Audiences who insist on lively visuals may wonder what all the fuss is about.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

OF NOTE

FREEDOM VERSUS AUTHORITY

IN THE DECEMBER issue of the *Notre Dame Lawyer* (Notre Dame, Indiana) the dean of the Law School, Dr. Joseph O'Meara, discusses freedom of speech. Excerpts from this discussion follow:

The first great case in America raising the issue of free speech was the prosecution in 1735 of John

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Peter Zenger for seditious libel. Zenger, publisher of a weekly newspaper in New York, had criticized the colonial governor. He was prosecuted under an information issued by a servile attorney general at the behest of the outraged governor.

In the *Zenger* case the court upheld the position taken by the prosecution; but the jury, disregarding the court's instructions, returned a verdict of not guilty.

We have come a long way in this country since the *Zenger* case. The right to criticize the Government is no longer questioned. In our days the issue is *how far* men may go in what they say or write against public authority. In 1951 this issue was confronted in the *Dennis* case, in which the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction under the Smith Act of 11 top Communist leaders. Four of the justices joined in the opinion of the Court, written by Chief Justice Vinson. Justices Frankfurter and Jackson each wrote a separate concurring opinion. Justices Black and Douglas dissented, each in a separate opinion. The five opinions occupy ninety-seven pages in the official report.

Plainly, the justices had trouble with the conflicting claims of national safety and free speech. Nor is this strange. Freedom and authority: both make valid claims and both overshoot the mark. The claims of authority, if fully realized, lead to totalitarian dictatorship, as everyone must know who has followed events in Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain, Argentina. On the other hand, if freedom totally overcomes authority, there is anarchy; and in anarchy there is no freedom.

"[T]hough no man," said Edmund Burke, "can draw a stroke between the confines of day and night, yet light and darkness are upon the whole tolerably distinguishable." There are night cases and there are day cases in the conflict between authority and freedom. "Nobody doubts," for example, "that, when the leader of a mob already ripe for riot gives the word to start, his utterance is not protected by the [First] Amendment." It is equally clear, on the other hand, that the First Amendment "protects all utterances, individual or concerted, seeking constitutional changes, however revolutionary, by the processes which the Constitution provides." [United States v. Dennis, 183 F.2d 201, 207 (2d Cir. 1950).]

And there are twilight cases. The question in the twilight cases is whether and to what extent the First Amendment protects advocacy of *illegal* conduct—advocacy, which is addressed to the understanding and seeks to persuade, as distinguished from incitement, that is, a bare appeal to action. The problem arises, as Judge Learned Hand has pointed out, "when [an] utterance is at once an effort to affect the hearers' beliefs and a call upon them to act when they have been convinced;" and "the question is what limits, if any, the advocacy of illegal means imposes upon the privilege which . . . the utterer would otherwise enjoy." The answer evolved by the Supreme Court, in a series of cases beginning with *Schenck v. United States* in 1919, is that speech may be punished—speech alone, unaccompanied by acts—if it creates a "clear and present danger" to the Nation.

Until the *Dennis* case the Supreme Court had not attempted to determine "when a danger shall be deemed clear; how remote the danger may be and yet be deemed present." In the *Dennis* case the Supreme Court adopted this interpretation of the clear-and-present-danger test.

> In each case [courts] must ask whether the gravity of the "evil," discounted by its improbability, justifies such invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger.

But this, obviously, is an *admonition*—stop, look and listen—not at all a rule or yardstick of decision.

What should be the rule? How can freedom and authority be reconciled? They can't be reconciled. All that we can ever hope for is a viable accommodation. Some limit there must be even to those freedoms protected by the First Amendment. But no formula will ever locate in advance the point at which the claims of freedom are overborne by the claims of authority. . . . It is futile to look for a ready-made answer. There is no salvation from the necessity of facing up to the issue again and again.

But, though no ready-made answer, no yardstick is available, there are at least markers and signposts which indicate direction; and some of these I shall attempt to outline briefly.

Of freedom of thought and speech one can say with Mr. Justice Cardozo "that it is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom." Mr. Justice Jackson has aptly stated that freedom of speech "was not protected because the forefathers expected its use would always be agreeable to those in authority or that its exercise always would be wise, temperate, or useful to society. . . . [T]his liberty was protected because they knew of no other way by which free men could conduct representative democracy." That is why, in the words of Mr. Justice Rutledge, "it is . . . in our tradition to allow the widest room for discussion, the narrowest range for its restriction. . . ." And so it should be, not only when the days are safe and placid, but also in times of insecurity and danger. Thus it was put by a great Chief Justice, Charles Evans Hughes:

> The greater the importance of safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our institutions by force and violence, the more imperative is the need to preserve inviolate the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free

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political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government.

Too often free speech is discussed only in terms of the rights of the individual. That is not by any means the whole story. At stake is our collective political birthright. For it is one of the pre-suppositions of democracy that men will speak their minds; it is one of the conditions of democracy that all sides of public questions will be heard. Hence it is one of the obligations of citizenship to speak out for what one believes. Thus, over the years, is error best combated: such is the democratic thesis.

Nonetheless the contest between freedom and authority, even in a democracy, is an unequal contest, with the advantage on the side of authority; for authority has power and power has the drop on freedom. This is why eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. . . . When all is said it comes to this, I think, that we can get no closer to a formula, to a yardstick of decision between authority and freedom when they collide, than to say that the presumption favors freedom; that the burden of proof—a heavy burden—rests on him who seeks to hobble freedom of inquiry and expression; that freedom should have the benefit of every doubt. You may think this too indefinite and vague; but I see no help for it.

A few remarks, now, of a more general character. Unfortunately many sincere people do not comprehend the genius of our democracy; or, if they do, they are unable to accept it. They believe it unpatriotic to stand up for the Constitution when it is invoked by someone who speaks out for a cause that is hateful to them or attacks what they prize. People of this sort frequently are bitter about the American Civil Liberties Union. But look closely at what they say; examine carefully the drift of their remarks. You will find, I think, that their real complaint is against our American constitutional system. They cannot abide the principle of the equal protection of the laws. . . . Such people would deny free speech to those with whom they are in fundamental disagreement. Though I have defended and will defend their right to hold and express this position, I think it important that its true nature should be understood. They would establish a party line in America—*their* party line, of course. This is an alien concept, a totalitarian concept; it is not consonant with the American tradition; it is anti-democratic; it is, in short, subversive and it should be recognized for what it is.

The simple truth is that you have to be for the Bill of Rights or not; you can't be for the Bill of Rights for yourself and your friends; it's all or nothing. A breach in the dyke imperils the whole countryside, not just the area adjacent to the break. There is only one protection against the flood and that is to contain it entirely. For no man's rights are safe unless all men's rights are respected. Every American should ponder and remember well the words of Justice Cuthbert W. Pound: ". . . the rights of the best of men are secure only as the rights of the vilest and most abhorrent are protected."

This is the authentic American doctrine, and Catholics, in particular, should support and defend it. Have we not suffered persecution? Do we not know the meaning of oppression? Can we not measure well, therefore, the worth of freedom? "No group," said Bishop John J. Wright, "is more indebted to American Democracy than the Catholic people."

Freedom has its dangers. There is no doubt about that. The forefathers took a calculated risk. The risk was worth taking; it is still worth taking. . . .

COMMUNICATIONS

"COMMUNISTS IN UNIONS"

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: I read, and then reread several times, Paul Jacobs' article on "Communists in Unions" [Jan. 20]. Several readings did not remove my sense of uneasiness at the article. The author is obviously competent. He cites many facts which are often overlooked by those who discuss the problem. Yet I could not avoid the feeling that important omissions occurred—important enough to modify the conclusions reached.

The impression was left that Communist control of a union does not result in too much damage. Should we overlook in this regard the peddling of the Party Line in union publications? the affording of sinecure jobs for Party stalwarts? efforts to siphon union funds into Communist-favored causes? facilities for recruiting new Party members? and the giving of openings for sabotage and espionage?

Certainly some Party members have been obtained through Red-dominated unions. And the fact that there were apparently no political strikes during the Korean war does not mean that the danger would be absent in a major war.

Again, should we overlook the relatively great influence exercised by key figures in the legal and publicity divisions of the CIO during the 1940's? Surely the curious parallel between CIO policy and Communist policy in many foreign-policy resolutions and statements during that period has some significance. Moreover, the evidence is strong that the

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prestige of the CIO was used to push certain Communists into critical government positions (e.g., among the Occupation officials in Germany).

In the light of these facts, it would seem that any added push toward dissolution, such as is afforded by use of the Communist Control Act of 1954, would be defensible public policy.

(*Rev.*) JOHN F. CRONIN, S.S.
Asst. Director, Dep't. of Social Action, NCWC.

Natrona, Pa.

TO THE EDITORS: I would like to take issue with Paul Jacobs' "Communists in Unions" on several points.

He vehemently attacks the United States Attorney General for attempting to have the United Electrical Workers Union declared a Communist-infiltrated organization under the provisions of the Communist Control Act of 1954. I see no reason for such vehemence. The few Communist-controlled unions that we now have, unfortunately, represent the workers in several plants and mining operations that are militarily important. Union efforts to purge the Communists have gone about as far as they can. There is nothing vicious about government efforts to control and terminate subversion in dangerous areas, after private attempts have failed.

The article states that the Communist unions in the United States have long ceased to use the political strike, and thus are not dangerous. One must add to this that they are experts in camouflaging a political strike as a legitimate trade union struggle, and thus they are dangerous. There is no doubt in my mind but that they could and would, whether for a short or a long time, cripple certain strategic industries in the event of war or a serious show-down with Russia.

In addition to the strategic danger to our defense, one must note an additional danger. One to the souls and personalities of human beings. Communist control damages people spiritually. The few recruits they get and spoil as human beings are often the very finest people. In addition to the recruits they warp and spoil hundreds on the fringe.

Mr. Jacobs says that Catholics remain in the Communist unions and even cooperate with them knowingly. After talking to literally hundreds I am of the opinion that most are so confused by "McCarthyism," other propaganda and the general over-information of the times that they simply refuse to believe evidence that their leaders are Communists. That evidence is rarely *prima facie*.

Mr. Jacobs quotes the victory of James Carey's IUE over the UE as showing that it is good unionism rather than the direct attack on the Communist issue that succeeds. The facts are that Carey by using the direct and simple cry of Communism smashed his rival within a few months before his new union, the IUE, had negotiated a single contract. Others, of course, using the same cry without the same superb timing and tactics, failed.

I write from two decades' experience in union organizing, even picketing with them upon occasion, and incidentally fighting Communism in the unions. Contrary to Mr. Jacobs, Catholic efforts generally started the Communist control wavering and other factors finished the job. I agree with him to the extent that Catholic efforts alone rarely were sufficient. His implication that Catholic efforts are not called for is harmful. In spite of the risks involved, and bearing in mind that great care must be exercised, there are situations in which Catholic action in the matter is imperative, even now. It may not be successful, but people in moral danger deserve the guidance of properly equipped Catholics.

(*Rev.*) CHARLES OWEN RICE.

REPLY

Los Angeles, Calif.

TO The Editors: The issue I tried to raise was not whether the Communists represent a threat—there is no disagreement on this question—but whether the government's action meets the threat, is necessary considering the character of the threat and, finally, is compatible with the functioning of a democratic society.

Philip Murray strongly opposed government action against Communist-dominated unions when, in 1952, he told a Senate sub-committee: "The Communists are on the run in the labor movement; their influence is declining day after day. Legislation, with all its inherent dangers, is not necessary to keep them on the run and to reduce their powers to insignificance." At the same time, Mr. Murray strongly warned of the dangers involved in the government determining what unions can represent workers.

A somewhat similar statement of views was made by H. W. Storey, vice-president of Allis-Chalmers, a company which had suffered much, in the past, from a Communist-dominated union. Mr. Storey told the same committee that the best way to fight Communist leadership in unions "is to assure union members the opportunity to select anti-Communist leadership through democratic processes."

Father Cronin says, in his letter, "it would seem any added push toward dissolution, such as is afforded by the Communist Control Act of 1954 would be defensible public policy." I would disagree. It seems to me that public policy is best defensible when it meets the standards of democratic methods. Otherwise, if we accept the theory that "any added push" is defensible, we may very well end by being completely indistinguishable from our totalitarian enemies, a state of society which I know Father Cronin rejects.

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Father Rice touches on the same question of method when he says, "There is nothing vicious about government efforts to control and terminate subversion in dangerous areas, after private attempts have failed." But the element of viciousness is not removed from an action simply because it is the government taking the action. Indeed, a government action may need to be judged even more severely than an individual's, as witness, for instance, the forced evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the west coast of the United States during the war.

I would also not agree with Father Rice that James Carey had "smashed" UE "within a few months before his new union, IUE, had negotiated a single contract" by using the cry of Communism. In 1952, two years after the expulsion of UE from the CIO, Mr. Carey complained to the Senate sub-committee, already mentioned, that most of the defense contracts held by General Electric "are assigned to plants where the employees are still trapped by UE." It was not until the end of 1953 that the IUE was able to report that "Organizationally speaking, the past ten months have been the most fruitful period for IUE-CIO in GE since the original 'breakaway' elections late in 1949 and early 1950." The largest GE plant, Schenectady, did not leave UE until 1954 and it was not until that same year that the Newark and Bloomfield GE units went IUE. In Westinghouse, the second largest local went IUE in 1953 but the largest was still UE in 1954.

I find no implication in my article that "Catholic efforts are not called for" in the struggle against Communism. But my concern is that every effort, political and/or religious, put forth in that struggle be consonant with spiritual principles. For otherwise, in our battle with Communism for the souls of the world, we may lose our own. And knowing Father Rice's part in that struggle, I am sure he shares my concern.

PAUL JACOBS.

BOOKS

The Princess' Fate Was Wiser Than She Liked to Think

THE GRAND MADEMOISELLE. By Francis Steegmuller. Farrar, Straus. $3.75.

By GERALD WEALES

FRANCIS Steegmuller, whose books on Flaubert and Maupassant have already given him a reputation as a man who knows his way around nineteenth century France, has moved back to the seventeeth century in his new book to tell the story of *The Grand Mademoiselle,* granddaughter to Henri IV, first cousin to Louis XIV. Although the story of Mademoiselle is spotted with enough obscure moments and unanswered questions to allow her life to be jerry-built into a conventional historical novel, such is never Mr. Steegmuller's intention. Romance, adventure, intrigue, *galanterie* are all here certainly, as one would expect in a popular biography of a figure from the courts of the two Louis, XIII and XIV, and the author is quick to underline their presence. Still, he is too careful a scholar to provide these sellable items where they do not exist. The conjectures that the book contains —the most important one being the possible secret marriage between Mademoiselle and the Comte de Lauzun—are reported by Mr. Steegmuller, not invented by him, and are plainly labeled as doubtful. Any fictions that creep into the book come accidentally through the pages of Mademoiselle's own Memoirs, on which the book is based, from which most of its quotations come, or from careless reportage by such peripheral characters as Saint-Simon or Madame de Sévigné.

Mr. Steegmuller's task in *The Grand Mademoiselle* is one of organization. He uses her Memoirs, from which he made the translations, and the incidental sources to present not one but three Mademoiselles; to the basic materials he adds continuity, identification and definition enough to allow the reader to follow a narrative path, with only occasional backtracking, through the intricacies of the French court. The first Mademoiselle is the proud and ambitious young girl in search, not of love, but of a marriage worthy a Bourbon princess of her rank; the semi-comic complications of royal marital politics link her momentarily with her cousin Louis and with Ferdinand III, Holy Roman emperor, either of whom she would consider eligible, and with the exiled Charles II, whom she decides she does not want to support. The second Mademoiselle is the loyal daughter who follows the vacillating footsteps of her father, Gaston d'Orléans, into the Fronde, the revolt of the nobles which is aimed, not at the boy king, Louis XIV, but at Mazarin, the power behind him; here she behaves in a most unprincesslike manner in a near-slapstick entrance at Orleans and in the more serious defense of Paris.

The third Mademoiselle, the one that obviously is most interesting to her biographer, is the forty-year-old spinster who falls in love with the Comte de Lauzun. We are never sure whether or not this is a one-sided romance, whether the younger man is interested in Mademoiselle or only in her position and money, but the evidence points away from her person. The courtship is a cautious one; the initiative is all on her side. When the marriage at last falls through, the victim of court intrigue, Mademoiselle becomes a pathetic hysterical figure, an aging woman who feels the court and the king have cheated her of love, just as earlier they had cheated her of power, by sacrificing her possible royal marriages to political exigencies.

Mademoiselle wrote in a word-portrait of herself, "It is surely fair to say that fate has been more lack-

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ing in judgment than I, for had it had more sense it would doubtless have treated me better." Although these words were written before the affair of Lauzun, there is no indication that she ever thought that the judgment of fate had become any clearer. Fate, however, may have been wiser than she liked to think. Although Mademoiselle was more loyal to those she loved and more straightforward in her dealings than many of those around her, virtues that make her seem unusual as we look back at her, she often operated with a naiveté that seems incredible in one raised in such surroundings. Since fate in Mademoiselle's case was helped along by such men as Richelieu, Mazarin, Gaston d'Orléans and Louis XIV, it is unlikely that she could ever have come off any better. Although her story is sometimes exciting, sometimes farcical, sometimes touching, she never seems quite so fascinating as Steegmuller thinks she is. In the end, it is easy to go along with Madame de Sévigné, who wrote that "she inspires me with feelings one seldom has for persons of her rank," but who did not let those feelings interfere with the interested objectivity with which she looked at Mademoiselle.

A Child's Garden

AN EPISODE OF SPARROWS. By Rumer Godden. Viking. $3.50.

By ALICE SAXON

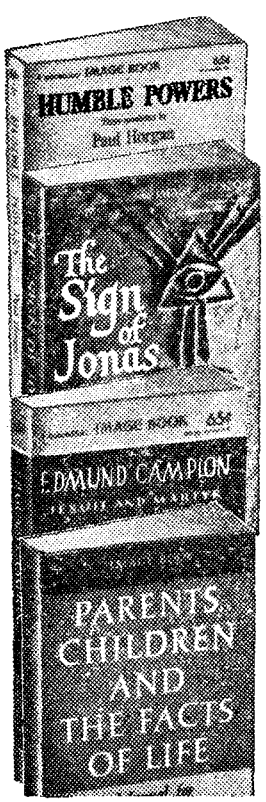
THE child as protagonist affords a naturally tempting subject to both author and reader: by drawing upon the most fluent stock of memories the former can achieve marvelous verisimilitude, the latter a sensitive degree of response. Nevertheless, this very ease—which makes it not at all unusual for an untrained and untalented person to produce, with a little concentration, a sympathetic piece of "childhood recollection"—this very fluency and abundance of material is not an ultimate guarantee of literary quality. One must know what one is doing, to what purpose a child has been chosen to dominate an adult book and bear its burden.

The story that Rumer Godden tells in *An Episode of Sparrows* is simple and good. A very lonely, neglected child pours the full force of her eleven-year-old existence into the creation and fostering of a garden, pitting herself against the odds of its survival in a complex, urban world that is not particularly concerned with the fate of child-sponsored gardens.

The author presents Lovejoy to the reader in a way that indicates she herself is completely captivated by her heroine. Her fondness for every impulse, thought and gesture that is Lovejoy's is revealed even through, or perhaps by means of, her strenuous adherence to understatement. This attitude toward her creation does succeed to a great degree in giving us a child who is strikingly real and at times moving. She possesses all the mystifying attributes of childhood—the strange secretiveness and abruptness: she never walks, she skips; she appears suddenly in front of people "as a robin appears on the handle of a spade"; says "I don't care" when she "cared bitterly"; and to the world's persistent advice to plant in a box, she answers tersely, "I want a garden."

There comes a certain point, however, where the portrait betrays its very purpose and becomes too disarming; the technique of understatement grows giddily successful and becomes cute. The fault is deeper than one of style; an underlying premise creeps in and threatens to weaken the structure of the story: the premise that truth is the exclusive property of childhood, and error, of adulthood. This use of the child as a symbol of innocence in a malign world is a tremendous theme in its own right. But casually treated, flippantly assumed, it becomes the peculiarly modern aren't-children - amazing - and - shouldn't-we-grownups-be-ashamed-of-ourselves-type of mish-mash popular in women's magazines and the movies.

An Episode of Sparrows purports to be a modest, matter-of fact tale, and as such it fails when it fawningly demands that you succumb to it because it is about a *child* who wants a *garden* and you would be an old meaney if you didn't succumb to it. The book has not the wherewithal to support such a de-



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mand, for the "evil" that the child stumbles against is but a gallery of types from English fiction—"Her spirit must be broken," says Angela, the officious club woman who brings Lovejoy to the charity school; she might be the daughter of Mr. Murdstone and Mrs. Jellyby, but neither she nor any of the other adult forces that oppose Lovejoy succeed in arousing such deep surges of indignation against the evils of society as did their counterparts in the nineteenth century classics. The lack of remarkability in the chorus-like remarks of Angela's sister (who is dominated, plain and wasting away) is almost embarrassing. Children "seemed to her truer than grown-ups, unalloyed; watching them, she knew they were vital. . . ."

The fine moments come when the child appears as the image of a growing human being in a human world; not "truer than grown-ups," but capable of erring painfully, and learning. There is the suggestion, for instance, that Lovejoy's garden is doomed, not simply because this is a cruel world that does not make room in it for children's gardens, but, more subtly, because her garden becomes almost a fetish, a monomania, and thus carries in it the seeds of its own destruction. She pursues her plans with a mounting petulance and greed suggestive of the artist; and she is even blinded by her project—this is brought out very well—to the far greater value of the human relationship offered her by the older child, Tip, who helps her with it because he cares not so much for the garden as for her.

And there are moments, as when Lovejoy finds her self quite suddenly at the end of the episode—the episode of building, with Irish Tip Malone, a garden hidden among the ruins of a partly-demolished Catholic Church—when it is all over and she is brought to the Episcopal charity school and warned not to be opinionated and not to venerate the Virgin Mary. Fraught with nostalgia and the unknown, devoid of theology:

"Hail Mary," prayed Lovejoy between her teeth. "Mary, make me cocky and independent."

That is a good moment—perhaps because the vision is still an imperfect one, and the moment holds and stirs the reader with its promise of a greater fulfillment to come for its child heroine.

Continuing Mystery of the Master-Race

RACE AND REICH. By Joseph Tenenbaum. Twayne. New York 3, N. Y. $7.50.

By VICTOR C. FERKISS

INTERPRETATIONS of Nazism have varied with time. In its early years it was often pictured (for example, by economist Robert Brady) as basically a big-business plot. Later, scholars like Walter Ebenstein saw in Nazism the quintessence of historic German culture, unmasked at last. The postwar revelations of the full horrors of Nazi genocide have caused many to turn to Nazi racial theory and practice as the principal key to a more complete understanding of the Third Reich.

Race and Reich belongs explicitly to this latter category. Joseph Tenenbaum, a surgeon long active in Jewish affairs at the highest levels and the author of more than a dozen books, attempts to illumine the true nature of Nazism by devoting most of his voluminous and comprehensive study to a precise, documented account of Hitler's final solution to the "Jewish Question" through the systematic murder of six million human beings. Despite the author's obvious emotional involvement, his style is in general as calm as it is clear. Credit for the exercise of humanity is given where it is due, even to the valuable work of the Italian Fascist government in saving thousands of Jews from their pursuers. Tribute is also paid to individual Christian churchmen, although the author feels strongly about the "Neutralism" of the Vatican toward the persecution within Germany and Poland proper, especially after the death of Pope Pius XI.

Judged solely as a descriptive work about Nazi race policy in practice, *Race and Reich* is a valuable addition to the existing literature. We need to be reminded not merely of the individual horrors but of their scope—the amount of time and energy devoted to massacre, the quantity of slave labor used and brutalized in the German war economy, not least of all by private firms now returned to the scene and engaged in "business as usual." The book is copiously documented and contains an unusually valuable bibliography including not only the relevant standard works and materials derived from the various war crimes trials, but also many lesser-known items that are from the realm of specifically Jewish scholarship.

As an over-all interpretation of Nazism, however, *Race and Reich* fails to fulfill its promise or the author's stated intentions. The descriptive materials dealing with race policy are not systematically related to those dealing with other aspects of National Socialism. The cursory description at the outset of the motivation of German anti-semitism as simply the need for a "scapegoat" for national frustration is considerably less than adequate. Later in the book, in a detailed biographical sketch, Dr. Tenenbaum describes Rudolph Hoess, commandant of the notorious Auschwitz concentration camp, as possessing a "typical" German character structure. Without developing this point, Tenenbaum thus rests his case on the empirically and methodologically weak explanation of totalitarianism of the "authoritarian personality" school. Even if one is willing to grant that his charge cannot precisely be labeled "racism in reverse," since the evil traits are allegedly transmitted by cultural rather than by strictly biological inheritance, its actual validity has yet to be demonstrated. Many peoples with a family structure similar to that of the Germans—the Swiss are an example—have produced viable democratic states. Nowhere does the author attempt to answer the

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vital question: to what extent was the Nazi policy of racial extermination carried on with the knowledge and approval of the average German citizen?

Though the vast bureaucratic chaos within which genocide took place is detailed in passing, Dr. Tenenbaum fails to explore the relationship between the tensions and cleavages which occasioned this chaos and the fate of the Jews. In this regard Dr. Tenenbaum shows less insight than such writers as Hannah Arendt, Eugen Kogon, or Karl Paetel. To validate these insights, however, will be a difficult task. American scholars are currently at odds in describing the social processes leading to our racist evacuation of Japanese-Americans in World War II, a far less complex undertaking.

Nonetheless, a systematic study of the forces at work within Nazi Germany as they affected the fate of the Jews is requisite to a full understanding of this tragedy. What were the interrelationships between the old civil bureaucracy, the Wehrmacht, the average German, and the SS? That the insane massacres and the fantastic movement of vast numbers of persons back and forth across Europe were carried on by the international SS at a time when they consumed immense quantities of labor, raw material and facilities desperately needed by the German state for its survival, suggests an as yet inadequately explored dimension of revolutionary totalitarianism. Dr. Tenenbaum has collected a huge amount of raw material relevant for such an exploration, but the really definitive book on the meaning of Nazi racial policy of the Third Reich remains to be written.

REVIEWERS

Gerald Weales, a member of the English faculty at Wayne University, appears frequently in The Commonweal, *Commentary, Hudson Review* and other American journals.

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Press Month, III

"It is not enough to have the truth oneself, in the sense of knowing the Church's teaching about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and so on; truth is a question also of *mode*, of the mode of approach to other facts, other beliefs, other problems; it implies clarity but it also implies sympathy; it implies critical judgment but it also implies charity, for God Who is truth is also love. . . . Good writing is part of truth. If you take a true proposition and state it in a sentimental way, in a sectarian way, in a vulgar way, you damage the truth of it. You damage the truth itself because you distort it; you also sin against the truth inasmuch as you tend to distort or degrade the minds of your readers.

"Here again then, the Catholic journalist has a heavy responsibility. The unhappy fact is that nowadays vast masses of people have learned how to read but have forgotten how to think. So they adopt, consciously, the opinions they read in the papers; but at the same time their minds are colored, unconsciously, by the tone, the style, of what they read in the papers. Bad writing gradually degrades the uncritical reader; good writing may gradually educate him—gradually and unconsciously . . . .

"It is not of course the job of the journalist as such to be a poet; but he can play his part in the re-integration of the human personality: he can help to point out the evil and the remedies; he can help his readers to understand and live the Church's symbolism and the symbolism of humanity in general, and in general to bring to their reading of contemporary events a broad and deep understanding. To set events against a background of eternal values: it means first of all to see humanity whole."

—from an article in The Commonweal by Gerald Vann, O.P.

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